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applied by all the children to all of them. But the use of the term does not in this instance imply that any motherly care is shown by one wife towards the children of another. As a rule they live in separate huts, and each looks after her own offspring, the others having much less to do with their co-wife's children than has the latter's sister, except in the case of a man marrying two sisters, when the 'mother's sister' relation holds good. Otherwise, one wife, if she takes any notice at all of the child of another, is more likely to 'put upon' the child if she be a girl, making her run errands and do other work for her. In some instances which came under my notice this was a source of quarrel between the domineering wife and her husband, who took his child's part against her.

The word *tʃinanē* is never used as a form of address. A child calls his mother *na*. Children must never use their mother's personal name, but when they are grown up and the mother is old, they may use some name which has been given to her on a special occasion, perhaps when her husband dies. For example, Tchub may not call his mother by her personal name Diwats, but he may use the name Pasu, which means 'short of breath', and was given to her because her husband fought for breath before he died. It is by this name that she is generally known in the village, the other I learned first while taking her family's genealogy.

2. *Tama- : bai'i.*

The views of these natives in regard to physical paternity and the customary procedure when extra-marital intercourse results in pregnancy are discussed in Chapter IV. For sociological purposes the term *tama-* may be described as applying to the mother's husband. Where a widow or a divorced woman remarries, it is applied by her children to her new husband. In the majority of cases the most important person to whom an individual applies the term *tamanē* ('my father') is actually the child's physiological father. Its extensions are to the father's brother, all the father's male cousins, and the mother's sister's husband.

The bond between a father and his children is a close and affectionate one; it is expressed in caresses while the children are little, and, when they are older, in the lively interest the father takes in all their doings and the affairs of their everyday lives. The connexion between father and son is not interrupted, as is that

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It will be seen that in all these cases the woman is a potential wife for the man she calls *wagun*, for he may have as his wives two sisters either synchronously or consecutively, and he is entitled to take his brother's wife after the death of his brother. If this marriage takes place, the terms for 'husband' and 'wife' are substituted for *wagun*. But as long as the *wagun* relationship obtains, certain restrictions are observed. I once saw Marotē pass near a log on which her *wagun*, Togen, was sitting. As she approached she called out '*Watagio!*' ('Look out!') Immediately he rose from his seat, and remained standing till she had gone. People who are *wagun* to each other may not eat in each other's presence. If this cannot be avoided, the woman must cover her face with her hood. They may not touch each other's body or hair. A man's wife's sister may not prepare his food. Sobak's wife's sister, Bawt, was divorced from her husband at Hanahan and came to live with her sister at Kurtatchi. In the olden days Sobak would, he told me, have married her, but he refrained from doing so in deference to the wishes of the priest, who discourages polygamy. Bawt and her three children, however, made their home permanently with Sobak and his wife, sharing their single hut. While his wife was paying a visit to her relations at Hanahan, both continued to sleep in the hut, but Sobak went to his *kiar*, Watchiu, to get his meals. (Thus precisely reversing the taboos observed among ourselves!)

Wagun may not address each other by their personal names, but may use adopted names, e.g. the woman may be called by the name she takes if her child dies. For example, Pesē's first child died when it could barely walk; since then she has been known as Tchinamoa—'mother of one (dead child)'. Matarē, her sister's husband, calls her by this name, never using the name Pesē.

These taboos are usually brought to an end when the mother or father of the woman dies. Ceremonial pudding is prepared by the woman and her sister. A length of *imun* (ceremonial currency of flying fox or porpoise teeth) is hung on a spear by her sister's husband, and put up beside her hut. The woman comes out with her hood on her head. Her *wagun* comes up to her and takes it off. The woman then takes possession of the spear and the *imun*, but at some later date she must reciprocate with another gift of like nature. The two families eat the ceremonial pudding together, and the *wagun* taboos then cease to be observed.

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601 The remainder of the terms to be discussed are concerned entirely with relationships entered into upon marriage.

11. *Uētē : mon* or *numtʃē- : muta-*.

The first pair of terms, which actually mean merely 'man' and 'woman', or, as adjectives, 'male' and 'female', are the usual ones applied by a woman to her husband and by a man to his wife or wives. They are usually distinguished from the general term expressing merely the sex distinction by the addition of the possessive adjective, *uētē pio*, my husband, *mon pio*, my wife. They may be used as terms of address, and also by a third party, for example, another person speaking to a woman about her husband will say *uētē pe'en*, your husband. The second pair of terms is used only in referring to husband or wife in their absence, and not as terms of address. Both pairs may be used during the period between betrothal and marriage, but are applied only to the actual, and not to merely potential, mates.

● [551] When newly married, couples do not use each other's personal name, for though there is no formal taboo on so doing, they are said to be 'ashamed'. They call each other *uētē* and *mon*. I have heard a woman call her husband *tab*, which is the exact equivalent of our 'old thing'!

The relationship between husband and wife is discussed in Chapter III.

12. *Waris* (term used reciprocally).

This term is used by a man with reference to both the parents of his wife, and is extended to cover all the other people his wife calls *tʃina-* or *tama-*, and also to her *tsoa-* and his wife, that is to say, to all his wife's relatives in the parental generation. Reciprocally, it is applied by all these people to the husband of any female they call *bai'i* or, in the case of the *tsoa-*, *pasunē*. This means that an unmarried girl is *waris* to the husband of her brother's or sister's children.

606 This is the most important of all the taboo relationships. But the full force of the restrictions is felt only in the case of *waris* of opposite sex, that is to say, between a man and his wife's mother. His wife's father is also his *waris*, and towards him he must conduct himself with respect and without undue familiarity. But his relations with all his female *waris*, and with the actual mother of his wife in

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particular, are hedged about with the strictest taboos that are known in this society. The woman is held chiefly responsible for seeing that these rules are kept, but the man, for his part, must take care that difficult situations do not arise through his fault, and that his mother-in-law is not put to undue inconvenience in observing the taboos between them.

A man must not see the face of his female *waris*, nor her hair. For this reason she carries about with her constantly a kind of pointed hood made of pandanus leaves, which, when her *waris* is present or expected, or where there is a chance of meeting him by accident, she keeps on her head, and pulls, if necessary, over her face. Most particularly she must never be seen by him while eating, and if she has to eat in his presence, she goes as far away from him as possible, pulls her hood over her face, and eats behind it. On encountering in the bush a party of which any relation a woman calls *waris* is likely to be one, she will leave the path and hide behind a tree till they have gone. I have often sat chatting with a group of women on the beach, when, at the approach of a party of men, some one will whisper '*Waris*', and immediately those who have hoods with them will cover their faces, and those who have not will disappear. This custom was still being observed with the greatest strictness throughout the area at the time of my visit. A remark deriding it, made by the native R.C. Mission teacher at Tabut, was the occasion for an outburst of feeling on the part of the women both of that village and of Kurtatchi (described on p. 459). But Mr. Gordon Thomas, in a communication written about a year later, states that it has been abandoned on the island of Pororan (1933, no. 44), and there is no doubt that it will shortly disappear altogether.

Further restrictions on the relations between a man and his mother-in-law and other female *waris* are as follows: They must not defecate within sight of one another (in the ordinary way no shame is attached to being seen in the act of defecating). They must not touch one another. They must not sleep in the same house. They must not chew areca-nut in the presence of each other. They must not speak to one another directly, but must converse through the wife.

They must not say each other's personal name, nor even a substitute name. To refer to each other in speaking to a third party, the term *waris* is used. When there is a child, the mother-

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835 to live at home in the absence of their husbands. I did not actually come across a case in which this was proved to have occurred, but it is a feature in many tales, and in discussions with the natives arising out of such stories they said that 'plenty of people do it'. While disapproved of, it is not viewed with the same horror as intercourse between a man and his sister's daughter. It is to be remembered that the father is not a member of the lineage.

NAMES

●551 Reference was made in the discussion of taboo relationships to the taking of supplementary names. The question of names must therefore be considered in relation to society.

553 It is of no great moment who gives a name to a new-born child. Usually it is a member of his lineage, often his maternal grandmother, but any other person may be asked for or offer a name. If a man falls down in sight of the child's mother before the name has been given, it is considered suitable for him to give it.

551 The name given is often one which has belonged to a deceased relative, possibly one of the mother's brothers or sisters, especially if the child be tsunaun. A boy cannot be given his father's name 'because his father is not of his lineage' (*boania*). If the child is not given the name of one of his forebears, a name will often be suggested by some incident, often trivial, that happened at the time, much as English children have been called 'Jubilee' or christened after some one in the news. A small boy at Petats was called Bulunan, which means 'a message', because his father received a message just as he was born. Nomoin, the name of a baby at Kurtatchi, means 'Go first', and arose out of a dispute over a pathway. Tariri—'Ours'—was the name given to a welcome Petats baby, and Poni—'Again'—to one possibly not so welcome. Sometimes the references are not such as we would consider altogether happy ones. Kalabus was so called because he was born while his father was in prison (= calaboose, pidgin-English for prison), and Kela because his father was bald. Nowadays children are given a European name by the priest when he comes to baptize them, but they generally receive a native name as well.

553 [851]

The name is given a few days after birth, usually on the tenth day, when the child is washed. It is retained in the case of a boy till he puts on the *upi*, and in the case of a girl till her first menstruation ceremony. This ceremony is held only for girls

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who are *tsunaun*; in the case of commoners the occasion goes unmarked, and there is no change of name. Theoretically the previous name is now taboo and should be heard no more, but in practice it is often retained. 553

In adult life, names are changed chiefly as a result of death. No change is made on marriage, or on the birth of a child, but if the child should die, both mother and father take another name as part of their mourning. A woman who loses her first-born will call herself Tchinamoa, 'mother of one (dead child)', and will continue to use that name even after the birth of other children who survive. Similarly, the child's father will be called Tamanamoa, 'father of one'. Other names assumed in consequence of the loss of children are Tamanakets, 'father of a buried (child)', Tamanaguwur (from *taguwur*, a child who dies of croup), Bunamoa, 'grandparent of one (dead child)', &c. One woman who had lost all her children styled herself, pathetically, Tchinpasen, 'Mother alone'. An odd hybrid name is Tchinarop, the mother of a child who died at Rabaul and was let down into the grave with a *rope*. Similarly, a child will mark the loss of a parent by calling himself Moitaman or Ketaman, 'no father' (*he* being an abbreviation of *ake*, no, not). In the latter case the name referred to the loss of the individual's father's brother, his actual father being still alive. Loss of a mother may be marked by taking the name Tatchinan (*ake ta tʃina*), 'no mother'. A widow will sometimes take some name connected with her husband's death, but this is not nearly so general as the change upon the death of a child. 551 765

For the death of a child or an adult commoner, only the nearer relatives change their names, and even this appears to be done at the discretion of the individual. The former name may remain in use, and after a time the assumed name is heard mainly from those who find it convenient because the personal name is taboo to them. But for the death of a *tsunaun* every one in the village, even the children, will change, adopting some name having a bearing on the catastrophe. Sarumpots, the brother of Pinari (the same man who figures in the story told on a previous page), had his leg bitten off by a shark, in consequence of which he died. Every one in the place took some name connected with this disaster. Two persons—father and daughter (no relation to Sarumpots)—took the name Baki, a word meaning 'shark', not in the dialect spoken at Kurtatchi, but in that of Hanahan on Buka, a village with which Kurtatchi 551 565 765

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551 565 765 has an intimate connexion. Another woman is now called Tchina'-eviat; *eviat* is the word for the bamboo rod used in catching bonito, the connexion being that Sarumpots was engaged in bonito-fishing when the accident occurred. The name of Sobak, my next-door neighbour, means 'to make a grab at', as the shark does at its victim, and commemorates the same catastrophe. In cases of importance the old names seem to be dropped completely. I never succeeded in ascertaining what the names of these people had been before. All inquiries were side-stepped by the answer: 'No one uses it.'

551 As previously explained, these substitute names may be used by relatives who are not permitted to say the individual's personal name. The taboo on the names of certain relatives extends to the use of words which are the same as these names, for which some substitute must be found, either a circumlocution or a word from another dialect.

551 177 These taboos are falling into disuse in consequence of contact with the white man. Most of the people at Petats showed no hesitation in saying the names of their taboo relatives when giving me their genealogies, but at Kurtatchi they either gave me a substitute name or the name of the relationship, or asked some one standing by to say the forbidden word. One man, finding himself alone with me, having occasion to speak of his brother's wife, whose name he should not say, whispered: 'She is my *wagun*, but I'll steal her name and say it quietly.'

[591] The whole system of substituting or changing names is destined to disappear in the near future by reason of the introduction of the Government census. 'Name e stop along paper belong white man, no can loose im.'

SUMMARY

612 613 591 The outstanding characteristics of the structure of this society may be summarized as follows: The kindred, comprising the mother and the father, the siblings of both, and their children, is the unit of which the individual is most aware in relation to the ordinary give-and-take of everyday life. In general, the tie between the individual and his relatives on the mother's side of the house (his lineage) is the stronger, but much depends upon whether the individual is living in the mother's or the father's village. This is to some extent a matter of his parents' choice, but if one individual

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The group of men and boys formed itself into the usual wheel formation and continued to play on the pipes. The little procession of women walked round them twice. After this it broke up; the two girls went back to the hut and took off their hoods, sticking the hornbill feathers into their hair. Then all the women joined in the dance in the usual way, in twos and threes, backwards and forwards with a kind of balancing movement, varied by a hop 'on the spot'. This went on for some time, but not all night.

The next day the two girls appeared still dressed in their cane girdles, which were now, however, worn on the top of loin-cloths. Their hair was still covered with black paint, but they had washed off the white outlines from forehead and temple. I made a tentative suggestion that I should like to photograph them as they had appeared at the ceremony the night before, but this was met with a polite but firm refusal from the older people. 'That is finished.' After the usual delays, we started on our journey back to Kurtatchi, taking Muben with us. All the Kurtatchi women were heavily loaded with taro and packets of ceremonial pudding. Quite a crowd of the Baniu people accompanied us round the beach to the foot of the cliff, where we sat on the sand for a little while before starting up it. As we went up the cliff path Muben's mother and mother's sister set up a wail. It was quite clearly a piece of ritual, but it seemed to me that there was real grief there as well, and Muben certainly had tears in her eyes when I walked beside her at the top of the cliff. She was obviously making a great effort to control them sufficiently to answer the teasing remarks which one of the men would persist in addressing to her.

CHANGE OF NAME AFTER MENSTRUATION CEREMONY

It is customary that after she has experienced her first menstruation, a girl should be given another name; the former one is then supposed to be taboo. Muben was given the name of Buin, but I never heard her called by it, every one continuing to use the name by which she had been known before. The custom seems not to be considered of great importance, and I never heard of any other name being given to Nawi, the old one being used as before.

VARIATIONS

As in the boys' ceremony, the time involved seems to have been curtailed considerably of late. In the account given by the women,

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While visiting other villages on Buka I obtained a little information bearing on the subject of death and funerary rites. Under the circumstances, my informants were naturally men with whom I was not well acquainted, and whose reliability I had no opportunity of checking. The details, however, are consistent, and the information, slight though it is, may perhaps be worth giving as corroborative evidence. It is transcribed from the pidgin-English record in my note-books, as the dialect of these villages differs sufficiently from those with which I am acquainted to make it necessary to fall back upon the lingua franca.

NOTES ON DEATH FROM THE VILLAGE OF LEMANMANU, LONTIS COAST, W. BUKA

When a man dies his relatives must not eat taro for ten days. They may eat bananas, coco-nut, and yams. The women stay in the house and weep. In the olden days the body of a person of rank was kept for two months in the house, and was then taken out to sea in a canoe and thrown into the sea. They said it was no good to bury him because some one might come and dig him up.[1] Commoners could be buried. Sometimes a man was buried in the house and after a long time his bones were taken up and thrown into the sea. His pillow and other belongings were burnt on the fire which cooked the pigs for the feast.

NOTES ON DEATH FROM THE VILLAGE OF HANAHAN, E. BUKA

When a man dies, for ten days his relatives may not eat anything but bananas, yams, and coco-nuts. They must not touch taro, or pig, or opossum, or fish. At the end of the ten days they may make a fire and burn some taro, pig, fish, and opossum; then they may eat these things. For a person of rank, the whole village keeps this taboo for two months. They wash the body, put red ochre mixed with coco-nut oil on the hair, and outline the forehead with white. In times past they threw the body into the sea, but now they bury it. Loin-cloths and other things belonging to the dead man are put in the coffin. In times past these things were kept in the house until such time as a feast was made, then they were burnt. The relatives change their names.

[1] This apparently is a reference to the custom called in the Petats dialect *kaikaman* (see p. 487).